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Bolshevism— The Poison of Production

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Canadian
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Association

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10. To improve the economic and industrial position of women.

BOLSHEVISM—THE POISON OF PRODUCTION

A Collection of Responsible Opinions Revealing the True Condition of Russia under Bolshevik Rule.



R. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labour, made the statement, on the eve of his departure to Paris to attend the International Labour Conference, that American organized labour will fight the spread of Bolshevism with every energy at its command. "Bolshevism," he declared, "is as great an attempt to disrupt the trade unions as it is to overturn the Government of the United States."

Again, at the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labour at St. Paul, Mr. Gompers said:

"I am not going to give up voluntarily the labour movement with its achievements of to-day, to look for the chimerical to-morrow. I think the greatest, the most radical, the most idealistic, and the most fantastical declaration which any body of men has made has been by the Bolsheviks of Russia. And they have lost, not only the meat from the bone, but the bone itself, and have not even the shadow. We here prefer to go on in this normal way of trying to make the conditions of life better to-day than they were yesterday."

In pursuance of such normal methods lies the salvation of democracy. There is no virtue in Bolshevism save the virtue that good may bring out of evil. It is not the purpose here to review the progress and causes of the Russian Revolution, but to reveal the truth, so far as it may be gathered, of Bolshevik rule. The old régime in Russia fell owing to its incapacity to

deal with the complex political problems raised by modern war. The further course of the revolution was determined by the rapid disintegration of the Russian army and by the early assumption of power by extreme social elements. From the first there was intense rivalry between the Duma Committee and the Council, or Soviet, of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The first Provisional Government was a compromise between the Liberal and Constitutional Duma Committee and the Revolutionary Socialist Soviet. Kerensky, who was Vice-President of the Soviet, became the representative of the socialistic groups in the first Provisional Government. From then until now the history of the revolution has been a struggle between factions, in which extreme has given place to extreme, until to-day Lenin and Trotsky, under Bolshevism, control the country and menace the world with extravagant doctrines. It was on November 7 that the Bolsheviks captured the Soviet Congress, attacked the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace, and seized the supreme power.

A close student of Russian affairs, in the *September Round Table*, says:

"The Bolsheviks, led by the cold and stubborn fanatic Lenin and the clever adventurer Trotsky, solved the problem of power in a reckless and simplified manner of their own. They cared little enough for Russia; their aim was to bring about a world revolution. They attracted the soldiers by the promise of immediate peace, the peasants by the promise of the immediate socialization of land, and the work-

men by the promise of the immediate establishment of labour control in the factories. They forthwith created an armed force and ruthlessly applied coercion to their opponents. The Bolshevik idea of the triumph of the masses over their exploiters, over the bourgeoisie, spread like an epidemic through the land and for a time rendered futile every attempt at resistance. The Bolsheviks seized the opportunity, before the army had dispersed, to create a Praetorian guard of their own, and then, masters of the situation, proceeded to carry out their social experiments.

"The Bolsheviks carried out their promises. They did make a peace that placed the richest parts of Russia under the control of German Imperialists and created in the rest of Russia a state of perpetual civil war. But, at any rate, the army broke up finally and the soldiers drifted back to their homes. The Bolsheviks did proclaim the confiscation of private estates and of monastic and crown lands, but no system was devised for the partition of land among the peasantry. The result was an orgy of plunder and destruction in which the worst instincts of the peasantry found vent, but which brought them not the slightest economic relief. Indiscriminate land grabbing simply led to a strikingly unequal distribution of the land of private estates among the peasantry, and thence to further conflict between villages and individual peasants. The workmen were given control over the factories, or the factories were nationalized. But the workmen proved incapable of managing the factories they controlled or of inducing themselves or their comrades to work with any energy. And in spite of the enormous sums spent by the Bolshevik Government on subsidies for the payment of wages to workmen who toyed with their work, the factories closed down, one after another, and the workmen drifted into the streets. The store of manufactured goods swiftly declined, paper money became valueless, and there was practically nothing to give the peasants in exchange for their produce. Add to this the fact that communications were cut by civil war or German occupation, that transport, which had been overstrained by the war, had now sunk into a deplorable condition, and that the suggestion of anything like a normal circulation of goods sounded like bitter irony, and it becomes intelligible that the masses in a few months began to realize that the Bolshevik peace was considerably worse than war. The food shortage became appalling, and punitive expeditions were sent into the country to extort corn from the peasants.

"That is the material side. The system of rule is, in theory, a dictatorship of the proletariat exercised through central and local Soviets of workmen, soldiers and

peasants. The propertied classes are disfranchised, also the educated class in so far as its members do not accept the Bolshevik creed. But workmen, too, and peasants who elect non-Bolsheviks find themselves forcibly disfranchised. And, in fact, Bolshevik rule is a clumsy autocracy exercised by Lenin and Trotsky through the Red Guard or Red Army they formed during the period of the dissolution of the Regular Army. The Red Army, which is incapable of resistance to an organized and disciplined force, terrorizes the population, and serves as the instrument of a tyranny more immediately cruel, more openly unscrupulous, than any that the Ministers of the old régime could have conceived or exercised. That the Press is completely gagged, that liberty of action is a matter of purchase or evasion, that corruption runs riot, that justice is a legend, that human life has become almost as valueless as the rouble in an epidemic of murder and massacre—these are the cold facts of the Bolshevik rule, and their sinister significance is not mitigated by the fact that by skill, contrivance or sheer inertia it is possible under such conditions to exist, if not to live. And it speaks well for the fundamental humaneness and decency of the Russian people that, with all these powerful incitements to evil, the actual quantity of brutal excess has not attained far more astounding dimensions.

"Yet in the idea and intention of the leaders, at any rate of Lenin, the Bolshevik régime is a genuine experiment in Socialism. And the fact that this extraordinary man and some of his followers believe in it is the only power that gives such a bizarre and revolting system a show of credibility. It matters not to Lenin that, having yielded in the essentials of national existence to German dictatorship, he finds himself subjected to continual German pressure, that he is actually a pawn in the Germans' hands. He has known all along that his reign will be brief, but he is intent on making a Socialist experiment on such a scale and of such contagious power as to provoke a social revolution in the most advanced capitalist countries. Decrees are poured out, plans of industrial and political organization on communist lines are published in hundreds in the now bulky code of Soviet law. It matters nothing that in Russia they are so much waste paper, or that the attempts to apply them only increase the terrible anarchy and reduce the triumphant proletariat to prostration. The ideas, thinks Lenin, will gradually leaven the masses of Russia and perhaps bear fruit at some later date. But more important still, they will, in that strange excitement that emanates from the martyrdom of Russia, stimulate the awakening aspirations of the Western proletariat, and

help to determine the outlines of that order which the triumph of the world-revolution will bring to birth.

"Lenin—the inhuman, immoral, petty, intriguing Lenin—coldly and bitterly and inexorably possessed by his single abnormal idea, regards the world-war and the destruction of Russia as mere incidents in the practical realization of his theory. He is a remarkable product of the Russian autocracy. He is strong in this extraordinary power of abstraction, in his capacity for ignoring at least one half of human nature. But this, too, explains the disastrous consequences of his rule in Russia and its certain failure. From the point of view of the Russian people Bolshevism is not so much a doctrine or a political system as a strange mood, a mental phase through which the people had inevitably to pass in emerging from such an autocracy to attain the full stature of conscious nationhood in a modern world. The terrible experience of Bolshevism and German domination are driving into the popular mind the elementary lessons of organized national life with a force wholly beyond the range of any mere formal or imitative teaching."

What the Bolsheviks demand is a revolution in the established order of modern society which would deny authority and the means of livelihood to any but those professing their principles. They would have Labour own the tools of production and control the workshops. They would divide all land among the peasants and agricultural labourers. Their creed means the overthrow of the manufacturer and the merchant. It menaces the welfare of every man who, by individual initiative and ability, has created his own business or established his little shop. It denies recognition to everything but mediocrity. It acknowledges only manual workers. There is no place in its citizenship for men who have made sufficient out of their own efforts to retire in their old age upon their little savings. Those who direct industrial affairs, the professional men and women who conduct great departments of public life, are aristocrats or bourgeois who are permitted to live only at the discretion of a tyrannical and ignorant party exercising an autocratic power as despotic and brutal as anything in history.

Something of the true condition of Bolshevism is revealed in the Note of the Neutral States to the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs at Moscow which was presented by the Swiss Ambassador and President of the Diplomatic Corps in Russia at Petrograd, on September 5, 1918. The note reads:

"Inasmuch as the representatives of the diplomatic corps at Petrograd were able to ascertain, definitely, the mass arrests of persons regardless of age and sex, as well as the summary convictions imposed by soldiers of the Red Army day after day, they requested a conference with Commissary Zinovieff and were received by him on Monday, September 3. They declared that it was not their purpose to interfere in any way with the struggle between political parties now raging in Russia; they desired only from the standpoint of humanity and in the name of the Governments which they represent, to express their most profound indignation at the régime of terror introduced in Petrograd, Moscow, etc.

"Prompted by the single purpose of satisfying their hatred against an entire class of citizens, without being authorized by any governmental authority, armed men, day and night, break into private dwellings, steal and plunder, and arrest and throw into prison hundreds of unfortunates who have nothing to do with the political struggle, and whose only guilt consists in belonging to the class of the bourgeoisie, the extermination of which is being preached by the leaders of the communists in their newspapers and their speeches. The distracted families are denied every possibility of finding out where their members are confined; they are refused permission to see the imprisoned or to bring them needed food.

"Such acts of terrorism on the part of men who boast that they want to bring about the happiness of the entire human race, are incomprehensible, and they arouse the indignation of the entire civilized world, which is now learning about the events at Petrograd.

"The diplomatic corps has deemed it necessary to convey its indignation to the People's Commissary, Zinovieff. It protests energetically against the arbitrary acts occurring every day. The representatives of the neutral Governments reserve for their Governments the right to demand of the persons guilty of these arbitrary acts the needed satisfaction and personal legal responsibility. The diplomatic corps requests that this note be brought to the attention of the Soviet Government."

This official condemnation of organized brutality reveals one side of Bolshevik rule. A striking picture of the general chaos which this Government has created in Russia is given in a public statement by Titoff, Socialist member of the Russian delegation which visited London in January for the purpose of informing the Government and people of the critical conditions in Russia. The delegation consisted of Shebeko, late Russian Ambassador in Vienna, and Gurko, brother of the famous general, both Conservatives; Tretjakov, a Liberal, and Titoff and Krovopuskov, Moderate Socialists.

Titoff, in a public statement, said:

"Under the cloak of socialism, tyranny has been restored. The situation created by the Bolsheviks in Northern and Central Russia threatens to produce general starvation, complete ruin of economic life and the annihilation of the Russian educated classes and of Russian civilization.

"All newspapers, with the exception of Bolshevik publications, have been suppressed and the right of arranging public meetings is only given to the Bolsheviks. Not only the Bourgeois, but all the Socialist parties have been branded as counter-revolutionary. All prominent members of these parties who were unable to escape have been arrested and thrown into prisons with common criminals, and they only receive food brought in by their relatives.

"Justice and law courts do not exist. The prisons are crowded with people who are detained without any legal grounds. For the most part, youngsters of eighteen or less have replaced dismissed magistrates and their examinations are veritable tortures and very often culminate in executions without any trial. People are frequently shot by their guards when being taken from one prison to another.

"All industrial and commercial enterprises have been nationalized, and most of the works and factories are at a standstill or have been obliged to reduce their output to the utmost. Even discharged workmen get wages for several months in advance from Government funds. An enormous army of commissaries and clerks, consisting mainly of Bolsheviks, are receiving enormous salaries.

"This swallows up milliards from the national resources, forcing the Soviet Government to flood the country with worthless paper money. The financial system is utterly destroyed and banks are abolished.

"The national food supply is based on the principle that only Bolsheviks are entitled to a regular supply of food, and the remainder of the population is literally starving, their daily food consisting of from one to four ounces of black bread and a little fish.

"The situation in the provinces is worse than in Petrograd and Moscow. The local Soviet consist of illiterate and uncultured ruffians, often with a criminal past, and they are supported by bands of brigands who rob and pillage the peaceful population.

"The peasants have been given over to so-called 'committees of the poor', which have been formed of the laziest and most depraved members of the community. These committees have been known to so anger the peasantry that the latter have burned them alive and have themselves been wiped out by the Bolsheviks in reprisal."

In case this picture of Russian conditions may be regarded as suspect because it is the statement of a delegate sent to Allied countries by those interested in correcting such conditions, the following extract from an article printed by *The Nation*, the British Liberal review, is not open to the same criticism. *The Nation*, which dismisses most of the witnesses against Bolshevism as "utterly discreditable", says, however, that Maxim Gorky "at least is above suspicion. In the modern literature, not merely of Russia, but of the world, he occupies a place apart." Gorky's description of the conditions under Bolshevism, which were published in *Novaya Zhizn*, which he founded at the beginning of the Revolution, are as severe an indictment of the Government as that of Titoff. To quote from *The Nation*:

"From day to day, Maxim Gorky chronicled what he saw, and almost daily he renewed his passionate appeal that the leaders of the revolution should be conscious of their responsibility, and should give the masses the light without which they lived and perished as the beasts. With the first Bolshevik outbreak of July, his voice becomes more desperate. He sees in the endeavour to rouse the ignorant people against the revolutionary Government deliberate criminality. He describes scenes which must convince his audience that the indictment he is slowly shaping is true. He stands at the street corner and listens to a conversation between one of the riot-

ers and a student. The student says he is a Socialist. The rioter replies: 'We spit on the Socialists; we are Bolsheviks,' and he adds: 'We know you students. You have always rebelled. You're b—— bourgeois.' On another day he is at the corner of the Lityeny Prospekt, watching a group of some hundred people talking quietly. Suddenly, for no visible reason, someone begins to fire at a house. A frenzied mob dashes in the door. No one knows why or at whom they are firing. A girl comes staggering out of the house through the crowd, wounded. Gorky goes up to her and helps her to shelter. She pushes him away. 'Tell them they are firing on their own people.' At another moment an armoured car rushes along the street. A machine gun is being fired from it incessantly. Someone on it cries: 'Comrades, the social revolution!' and Gorky just has time to see the hand of a soldier beside him trembling on the trigger of his gun with the itch to fire at somebody or anybody. The November days come, and with them an increase in Gorky's fear, and also of his conviction that the Bolshevik leaders are deliberately setting themselves to arouse all the beastlike instincts in the ignorant mob, not with any view to a subsequent reconstruction of society, but merely in order to gratify a cold-blooded intellectual curiosity. The new Government allows no books to be published. All newspapers, save those which incite their readers to acts of redoubled violence against the bourgeoisie, are suppressed. The Commissary of Education abolishes the great Russian writers from the schools and replaces them by a modern poet who has won notoriety by his glorification of the obscene. Gorky gives us a picture of the children. A handful of Red Guards are dragging what was once a man along the street. They have battered his face with the butts of their guns. All that can be seen of him is blood, a tangle of hair, and an eye still hanging to the socket by a sinew. Behind them is a crowd of children running and shouting, on their way to the river. After a little while the children come running back, laughing and shouting: 'He's drowned!' But the children laugh seldom enough. Most of them are starving. The peasants are blockading the towns, and the Bolsheviks, who know that their power depends on the acquiescence of the peasantry, connive at their extortions. Most of the Soviet officials are themselves engaged in the illicit trade. The Red Guards, the railway workers, and the Bolshevik officials alone are fed, and the sole ray of light in the growing darkness is the news that one group of railwaymen—a very small group, alas!—has refused to accept the unequal treatment.

" 'I cannot love the proletariat,' says Gorky, 'but I can forgive it. It is stupid and cruel because it does not know. But Lenin is not to be forgiven. What has he, the grand seigneur, to do with the proletariat? He is a ruthless experimenter with the lives of men. He has deliberately sought for anarchy and provoked it, not in order that good may come out of the chaos which he has created, but merely in order to see what will emerge. One day the people will understand what Ulianoff-Lenin has done to them, how he has made them beasts that he may treat them as beasts; and then they will turn upon him also. Till that time there is one hope in the midst of so great despair. By this orgy of indulgence the beast instincts in the people may be glutted, and at last in a final paroxysm the devil of cruelty and bestiality cast out.' "

Titoff's statement of the failure of industries under the Bolshevik policy of nationalization is supported by a host of statements from authoritative sources. Dr. E. J. Dillon, an authority on Russia, who received the degree of Master of Oriental Languages at the University of Petrograd and was professor at the University of Kharkoff, declares that the Bolshevik Government has no future, since it is utterly impossible to carry on industry and commerce on the lines on which the Bolsheviks work. He adds:

"Not ten per cent. of the factories of Russia are working at the present time. Industry is practically at a standstill, because under the system of the Bolsheviks the factories have been seized by workmen who have no capital to carry on the industries. Of course, many workmen got a great deal of money, but what happened was simply that they took money and used it up on themselves and the things they were interested in or wanted to spend it for, and then there was none left. There is nothing left now. Economically, it is absolutely impossible for the Bolshevik Government and the Bolshevik system of running things to last."

Again, writing from Paris, he says:

"Bolshevism is fascinating the gaze of the civilized world. It is recognized as a universal danger by the European Governments, whose efforts are being directed to its removal. These efforts may appreciably modify their general policy in a direction opposed to doctrinaireism, and reconcile them to the achievement of the practical rather than

the ideal solution. One-half of Europe already has been ruined by it, and every care must be taken that the remaining half shall not be blighted by a moral disease more baneful still. At present all Eastern Europe is threatened by this anarchist scourge."

The experiences of the banks are described by Frederick M. Corse, General Manager in Russia of the New York Life Insurance Company. Mr. Corse recently returned to New York City after seventeen years' residence in Russia. He says:

"The Volga Kama Bank was one of the biggest and richest in Petrograd. It was like the National City Bank here. I had the largest account in it. The Bolsheviks, early in 1918, deposed its president and board of directors and put a man who had been the bank's rear yardman in charge of the bank. I had to deal with him and he was still there when I left.

"All private banks had this same experience. Multiply the Volga Kama Bank's experience by a thousand and you have the situation. To draw 150 roubles took three days, with all sorts of preliminaries such as getting permits and visés in different parts of the city. But if you paid to certain lesser Bolshevik functionaries 25 per cent. of the amount that you drew, you could draw a million roubles.

"When I left Russia, the efficiency of industries had been reduced 70 per cent., and the results of the committee system were the gradual closing of factories and shops everywhere. There is a lack of skilled men. Cost of production is too high. The labour committees are utterly ignorant of administration, and make no provision for depreciation. Much machinery has been wantonly destroyed by rowdism, spite and grudge."

This statement of the ruin of industry by Bolshevism is supported from numerous sources. As an example of repeated press statements, the following from Berne to *The New York Times*, on December 23, may be quoted:

"Reliable information from Russia brings confirmation of reports that the socialization of industry there is a complete failure. Official statistics show that in almost all the 513 mills and factories controlled by the State expenses have considerably exceeded receipts.

"During the first four months of 1918 the Government paid out over 400,000,000

roubles to cover these deficits, and has been obliged up to the present to advance over 1,000,000,000 roubles to the factories under its control. Technical experts assert that Russian industry has been crippled for many years to come by the Bolshevik régime."

If more official information is demanded, it is contained in numerous speeches by Mr. Lloyd George. Speaking on production in a great statement to Labour during the recent election campaign, he said:

"Bolshevism is the poison of production; Russia proves that. Russia will not begin building up a productive system until Bolshevism has worked itself out. Meanwhile there will be great suffering and penury throughout the land and all classes will suffer alike."

Again, while condemning class government in his final campaign speech, he said:

"In Russia you have got now the claim that government must be entirely in the hands of one class. They won't allow the other classes even to vote. What is the result? The result is chaos, anarchy, confusion. Have the working classes benefited? There is starvation there, there are people dying by scores of thousands for want of food, credit is gone, there is no work, there are massacres all over the place, and Heaven knows what is going to happen in Russia."

Striking testimony to the true character of the Bolshevik régime is contained in an article on "Bolshevik Industrial Government", prepared by Gustavus Myers for the League for National Unity, which appeared in *The National Civic Federation Review* on December 20. In this article Professor Ludovic H. Grondys, a Socialist, gives much first-hand information gathered during a long tour of Russia recently. "At the outbreak of the war he was Professor of Physics and Mathematics in the Technical Institute of Dordrecht, Holland, and also one of the editors of *The University Review of Philosophy*, Holland. He is now correspondent for *L'Illustration* and *Le Temps*. En route to Siberia, he was in New York in October, 1918, and there gave me ample

details of the Bolshevik experiment. He said:

"Almost all the Bolshevik leaders are people who have returned from America. These were supplemented by an immense swarm of criminals released from Siberia, as also liberated criminals from the prisons in Moscow, Petrograd and other places. A certain number of those exiled to Siberia under the old régime were political prisoners, but a far greater number were actual criminals.

"The first thing that these did after getting back to Russia was to burn courts and police courts. They thus destroyed records and Rogues' Galleries. With the records of their criminality destroyed, they could safely pose as political martyrs. With great assurance they did so. This explains why so many criminals became Presidents of Soviets, and this helps to explain also the bloody conflicts between villages, and why so many criminals are in control. Every town and village has the right to have a Revolutionary Tribunal, and can decree anything it pleases. All laws have been abolished. Only those having certificates of being thorough-going Bolsheviks can be elected to Soviets or Revolutionary Tribunals. The principle (!) prevails everywhere that 'Anybody who has been in Siberia and has suffered from the law ought to know something about it.'

"While on the subject of the criminals running Russia, it is well here to advert to a description of some of them given by General A. Dobrajansky, who recently arrived in New York City as the representative of a group of united Russians. General Dobrajansky says:

"As an instance of the calibre of men composing the various Soviets, (self-elected representatives of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Committee), let me cite a few names of the members of the Soviet of Blagowestchensk. We have the President, Tselonson, a German spy, ex-jailbird and robber; Mochin of the Executive Committee, a deserter from the Russian army, a counterfeiter and ex-jailbird; his assistant, Tchatskovsky, also an ex-jailbird; Commissioner of Prisons, Emilianoff, ex-jailbird and robber; his assistant, Nakileff, previously condemned to jail for robbery; the Commissioner of Food, who was convicted for misappropriation of funds; Korovin, Commissioner of Schools, an ex-jailbird; Tillick, convicted for robbery, now Commissioner of Finance; Mithin, Commissioner of Militia, an ex-jailbird, and finally, we have as Commissioner of Health, an illiterate peasant. And these are the men who are at the head of affairs in Russia to-day!

"To return now to Professor Grondy's statement:

"Does the Soviet system represent the people's will? you ask. It does not. It is forced on the people. There are no real elections. The Bolsheviks use the Red Guards to pack assemblies and force their candidates. Voters are exclusively Bolsheviks, and only Bolsheviks or those having no property can be eligible to office. This claim of Bolsheviks being propertyless is not true. Many of them have amassed money. In all my tour I met only a few of them who were honest. School-masters are not eligible for Bolshevik village Soviets. They are too intelligent, and are regarded as intellectuals.

"Soviets have been the great craze. Every great apartment house has a Soviet. Every factory was put under the domination of a so-called Council of Workmen. I personally saw the application of the theory to many factories. For example, Koopp's agricultural machine factory, employing 500 men, at Alexandroffsky, near Rostoff. The Council of Workmen in this factory voted to make Koopp an employee at 500 roubles a month, and made one of the loudest talking workmen (who was also President of the Soviet), Director of the factory. They voted themselves salary increases of from 800 to 1,000 per cent.

"Every day the workmen held meetings, sometimes lasting several hours, in the factory. There they discussed their rights and privileges, but the words duties and obligations were unknown to them. They also voted themselves the right, 'as an intellectual necessity', to read newspapers during supposed working hours. Nominally, they 'worked' eight hours, but literally, not more than four and a half a day. But they paid themselves for all time spent in meetings, reading newspapers and loafing. The funds they obtained by rifling the factory vaults, and when they were empty, they went to Koopp's house and to the banks where he kept his private account, and under threat of using arms, took away what money remained. In all, they seized about 1,000,000 roubles. Many of his workmen were members of the Red Guard. If one of these Red Guards stayed at the factory twelve hours a day with his rifle he would put in a claim for overtime and had to be paid from the factory funds. Workmen brought in their girls to the factory at night, and voted themselves pay for this 'overtime'. After the Germans took Rostoff, Koopp's factory was returned to him.

"This is a typical instance of what has happened everywhere in Russia under Bolshevik power. Many of the technical staff of the factories were killed on the charge of their being 'bourgeoisie'. Many other administrators, experts, foremen and others fled. Still others of the technical staff who escaped death were ordered to go to the

factories, and if they refused were shot on the spot. Hundreds upon hundreds, yes, thousands have been shot without trial. Naturally, in these conditions, the machinery spoiled and grew worse, and everywhere, except where the Germans have come in, factories have had to stop. Nearly all of the factories are discontinued.

“To the outside world the decrees issued by Lenin and Trotsky may seem to represent something. They don’t. The workmen don’t recognize Lenin and Trotsky unless they want to. They are not sure of Lenin and Trotsky. They recognize only their Soviet, and if they don’t like it they set up another. It is armed anarchy.

“There is less freedom of speech than under the Czar. Only Bolshevik papers are allowed. There is no freedom of assemblage whatever. Merely suspicion brings death at once.”

The article continues with example after example of the destruction of industry and gives some striking details of the fate of workingmen who refused to follow the Red Flag. It quotes from the speech of Colonel Vladimir I. Lebedov, which he delivered in New York on December 2, 1918. Colonel Lebedov was Secretary of the Navy under Lvov and Kerensky, but left the Kerensky Cabinet because of failure to take strong measures against the Bolsheviks. He now holds the office of Associate of the Secretary of War of the Russian Omsk Government, in behalf of which he visited the United States.

Colonel Lebedov said in his New York speech:

“The Bolsheviks are shooting down the workingmen far more ruthlessly than under the old régime. They have been shooting them by the thousands in frequent massacres. In normal times there were about 400,000 workingmen in Petrograd. Early in the war there was a great influx of peasants who went to Petrograd to work. After the Bolsheviks seized power, hundreds of thousands of workers, mostly unskilled, left Petrograd for the country districts. By May, 1918, there were only 132,000 workingmen left in Petrograd, but these were the best kind of skilled labour. They had always lived in Petrograd and had nowhere else to go.

“In May, 1918, they began to revolt against the Bolsheviks. They held several enormous mass meetings which, because of the great numbers present,—more than

100,000 in all—the Bolsheviks were afraid to molest. They elected representatives and drew up resolutions denouncing the Brest-Litovsk treaty as a shameful peace which they didn’t recognize, and declaring that, instead of peace, the Bolsheviks brought internal wars, and instead of bread they brought famine. The resolutions further asserted that, instead of liberty, the Bolsheviks had established a reaction to such an extent as never had existed in Russia. The workmen demanded the resignation of the Bolshevik Government, and the election of a Constituent Assembly. They sent delegates secretly to all Russian cities. In Moscow the workingmen adopted similar resolutions. Here, too, the Bolsheviks were afraid to take action. But in the provincial cities, where the meetings were smaller, the Bolsheviks imprisoned or shot thousands of workingmen in cold blood.

“As for the delegates elected by the workingmen of Petrograd and other cities to the Soviets, the Bolshevik Government would not allow them in those bodies. The Bolsheviks would not permit any Socialist, trade-unionist or labourite in the Soviets. They ordered the Red Guard to shoot them, and this was always done.”

As a final evidence of the disastrous results of Bolshevism, we may quote from a special article in *The Fortnightly Review* of last December by Sir George Buchanan, who was appointed British Ambassador to Petrograd in 1910, and continued there for more than a year after the Revolution:

“Nobody’s life is safe—all their political opponents, whether belonging to the Socialist or non-Socialist parties, to the working class or to the aristocracy, are styled counter-revolutionaries, and as such are judged guilty and condemned to death. The process of passing sentence on individuals is even found too slow, and they are massacred in batches, the Red Guard or the Chinese mercenaries employed as executioners being free to choose their victims from the lists of the proscribed. Such are the methods by which those pseudo-democrats, Lenin and Trotsky, have attempted to found their Socialistic State, and such are the precepts of the Bolshevik gospel which they vainly would see preached in this and other countries. The sympathy felt in certain quarters for Bolshevism is due entirely to ignorance of what Bolsheviks really are. They are not democrats as we understand the meaning of that word. They are anarchists, and I am convinced that were any of our so-called Bolsheviks to go to Russia and see with their

own eyes the crimes that are being committed there in the name of liberty, they would never call themselves Bolsheviks again."

In the face of such evidence, it is amazing that Bolshevik literature should have such a circulation in Canada. Bolshevism is not only "the poison of production", it is the enemy of progress. It panders to less than mediocrity and denies a hearing, and often a livelihood, to those who possess any personal initiative or ability. It is a foe to free speech. Not through Bolshevism will the world-dream of peace be realized or people be made happier. With it there can be no safety for democracy. Under its limited vision only the drones of the nations survive. The temper that is needed to repair the ravages of war and to reconstruct the world is the temper that found expression in the final campaign speech of Mr. Lloyd George in the recent British elections. We have already quoted his condemnation of Bolshevism as the poison of production:

"There is one condition," he said, "for the success of all efforts to increase the output of this country—confidence. . . You must give confidence to all classes, confidence to those who have brains, to those who have capital, and to those with hearts and hands to work. I say to labour: You shall have justice; you shall have fair treatment, a fair share of the amenities of life, and your children shall have equal opportunities with the children of the rich. To capital I say: You shall not be plundered or penalized; do your duty by those who work for you, and the future is free for all the enterprise or audacity you can give us. But there must be an equal justice. Labour must have happiness in its heart. We'll put up with no sweating. Labour is to have its just reward. And when the whole world sees that wealth lies in production, that production can be enormously increased, with higher wages and shorter hours, and when the classes feel confidence in each other, and trust each other, there will be abundance to requite the toil and to gladden the hearts of all. We can change the whole face of existence."

The salvation of the future is not to be found in conflict between classes, but in the closer association of all elements. By such association the whole face of existence can be changed indeed.

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be secured from the Editorial Department, Canadian Reconstruction Association, Royal Bank Building, Toronto.

